The Air Force Sabotages SALT, P. 2

Unfit For Any Bench

"Quite apart from any ideas of white supremacy and ugly racism, he [Judge Carswell] does not have the legal or mental qualifications essential for service on the Supreme Court or on any high court in the land, including the one where he now sits."—*From a protest by 457 leaders of the bar including former Attorney General Ramsey Clark.*

I. F. Stone's Bi-Weekly

VOL XVIII, NO. 6 MARCH 23, 1970 WASHINGTON, D. C. 20 CENTS

Where The Fuse On That Dynamite Leads

The search of the youth today is for ways and means to make the machine—and the vast bureaucracy of the corporation state and of government that runs that machine—the servant of man. That is the revolution that is coming. That revolution . . . need not be a repetition of 1776. It could be a revolution in the nature of an explosive political regeneration. It depends on how wise the Establishment is. If, with its stockpile of arms, it resolves to suppress the dissenters, America will face, I fear, an awful ordeal.

—*Justice Douglas:* Points of Rebellion.

The New York Times editorial Friday March 13 on the rash of bombings and bomb scares in New York City was called "Not Idealists: Criminals." This was the standard reaction of a liberal publication, the easy way to clear its skirts of any suspicion of the slightest sympathy with revolutionary radicalism. But it is a dangerous cliché. Falsely to diagnose the trouble is to move toward the wrong remedies, and the wrong remedies will worsen the disease. Statistics on bombings from cities around the country suggest that we may be entering the first stages of an urban guerrilla movement. A guerrilla movement is a political, not a criminal phenomenon, however many crimes it may commit. Experience has shown over and over again that a guerrilla movement can only be defeated by political means. The effort to treat it simply as a criminal matter, without resolving its political causes, ends by increasing the number of the guerrillas and widening their support in the larger community.

Like A New Children's Crusade

Whether the New York bombings prove to be a spasm in the wake of the Greenwich Village explosion, when a radical arsenal blew up, or the beginning of a serious terrorist movement will now depend on the authorities, and their ability to keep their cool. The first requisite—*and* the second, *and* the third—is understanding. The Weatherman kids can be seen in various ways, and it is necessary to see them in as many as possible. The Weatherman faction of SDS, whence several different "direct action" splinter groups seem to derive, can be looked at like a distraught child. They can be viewed as spoiled brats, in a tantrum with a world which will not change overnight to suit them. But they are also the most sensitive of a generation which feels in its bones what we older people only grasp as an unreal abstraction, that the world is headed for nuclear annihilation and something must be done to stop it. The Weatherman manifesto from which they take their name is from one point of view a mishmash of ill-digested pseudo-Marxist rubbish, an effort to compete with their bitterest rivals, the "square" sectarian ideologists of that other Far Out splinter group, Progressive Labor. The manifesto spurns every normal base of revolutionary support and ends up squarely in the clouds: the middle class is, of course, no good; the working class is corrupted; the college generation will soon sell out; their only hope is in the juvenile Robespierres of the high schools. It sounded like the Children's Crusade come back to life, a St. Vitus dance of hysterical politics.

Happy Tidings For Harlem

The Attorney General's caustically-conservative wife and the liberal Republican lawmaker [Sen. Charles Percy] from Illinois found themselves dinner partners at a farewell party for Australian Ambassador and Lady Keith Waller here this week. And from all reports, Percy is the latest to get the benefit of one of Mrs. Mitchell's lectures on what's wrong with the country. "It's liberals like you who are selling this nation down the river to the Communists," she accused, after an hour's discourse and an emotional declaration of how much she personally loves "those colored people."

—*Maxine Cheshire in* The Washington Post, *March 5.*

It is from just such despair that terrorist movements have grown. This recalls the Russian pre-revolutionary *Narodnya Volya* (People's Will) through which a handful of disaffected middle class and noble youths sought by bomb and pistol to overthrow the mighty Czarist order, with roots so deep in the religious reverence of the peasant masses as to seem impregnable. How to overturn their Little Father? A movement which has no faith in the masses seeks out the desperate few idealists willing to sacrifice their lives in gestures they realize may be futile. Some of our young revolutionaries are chillingly sober and disconcertingly sensible. Their criticism of conventional dissenters like myself and our futility, as the war goes on, is hard to rebut. Others in recent months have displayed a morbid development, a tendency to glorify violence for its own sake, as when they make Manson a hero, for killing "bourgeois pigs", i.e. people exactly like their fathers and mothers. The ultimate menace they fear is their own secret selves in their own parents. This is what they are acting out on the stage of national politics.

But these psychological aspects are only a part of the whole complex picture. These wild and wonderful—yes, wonderful!—kids also serve quite rational political ends. I became strongly aware of this when I ran into an old friend on an early morning Washington street corner the other day who is working hard in a respectable do-good reformist organization, the very kind the youthful radicals despise. I told him that in talks on various campuses I had tried to talk the young people out of the typically American idea that revolution could be "instant" like coffee or iced tea. "Don't dis-

(Continued on Page Four)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sabotaging The SALT Talks

When Secretary of the Air Force Seamans told the Senate Armed Services Committee Minuteman III with MIRV would be deployed in June, one can only conclude this was deliberately intended to have a negative effect on the SALT talks. Senator Brooke (*R. Mass.*), who has led the fight for a stand-still on MIRV, at once protested and the Administration felt it necessary to make some reassuring reply. But the reply came neither from the White House nor from Secretary Laird but from as low an echelon as the Administration could muster—Jerry Friedheim, the Defense Department's press spoksman. The Pentagon did not even dignify it by providing a transcript. Friedheim said everything was negotiable at SALT but that if no agreement to halt MIRV were reached in the talks reopening April 16, the U.S. would go ahead with deployment in June. That is pretty tricky. It allows only a month and a half to reach an agreement. The Pentagon experts can easily delay an agreement for months. The way to stop it is by unilateral announcement, asking the Russians likewise not to test or deploy the MRIV on which they are far behind us. We can easily learn by satellite and other means whether the stand-still is mutual. But once deployment begins, we enter a new and more dangerous phase of the arms race and the SALT talks will lose all significance except as a propaganda exercise designed to delude public opinion into believing that something is being done, when in fact it will be too late.

The Soviet Union's Press Campaign Against Israel has the vulgarity, the transparent mendacity and the gross oversimplification characteristic of the Kremlin's decayed bureaucratic apparatus. The massive press conference at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs served to show that, despite the widespread anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, many Jews occupy high positions in military and civilian life. But I know from my own visit in 1956 how deeply sympathetic Russian Jewish youth is to Israel and how it distrusts the dull and monolithic Soviet press on all subjects, as does the best Soviet youth generally. The facts are that the Jews are the only nationality in the Soviet Union not allowed its own cultural life, and that the result of this discrimination is an awakening of Jewish national feeling in otherwise assimilated and non-religious Russian Jews. Some are Zionists. Some want equal treatment and cultural freedom in their Russian homeland. These forced anti-Israel statements will increase their alienation. The fact that groups of dissident Jews in Moscow and Leningrad dared circulate protests to the foreign press and sign their names to it was an extraordinary demonstration of courage. We salute them fraternally for it.

Freudian Slip Dept., S.E. Asia Division

The fact that we are violating the Geneva accords would seem to be tacitly admitted by the fact that the U.S. Embassy in Laos, a while back, printed and released in that country a copy of the protocols to the declaration of the neutrality of Laos. Our Embassy left out the article which, when read, would be plainly recognized as the article that we are violating. When this was pointed out to the Embassy, they said it was a mistake and they reprinted the protocols in full . . .

—Cranston (D. Cal.), in the Senate Mar. 12.

The missing article was Article 4: "The introduction of foreign and irregular troops, foreign para-military formations and foreign military personnel into Laos is prohibited."

The Newspapers Generally and The Networks seem to respond to criticism (unless it comes from Agnew) by burying it. Most papers March 15 buried the report of the Lawyers' Task Force on the November Moratorium, though the chairmen were former Assistant Attorney General Ramsey Clark and the deans of two Washington law schools. The 57-page report embodied the work of more than 300 lawyer-observers. The report criticized the Justice Department for statements which "tended to incite" violence and issuing "predictions of impending holocaust." It said that though the demonstration brought between 250,000 and 300,000 persons to Washington, the largest of its kind in the nation's history, the TV networks provided no live coverage and news reports focused "almost exclusively" on a few relatively isolated incidents of violence. The police were condemned for using tear

Another Way To Elude The Censor And See The Fate In Store For That "Peace Dividend"

There is another clue (beside those mentioned in our last issue) to the military spending figures blacked out in the new Nixon budget projections. At page 8 of the Economic Report of the President there is a Table 14, which gives projected Federal expenditures from 1970 to 1975 inclusive in 1969 prices. This is part of what the Nixon Administration says is its effort "to formulate the larger choices it faces in the allocation of national output in the light of competing options." They include military spending but the military projections are nowhere given.

One way to get some conception of the military spending is to start with the figures this table gives on Federal purchases of goods and services. From a table on p. 177, one can with a little arithmetic learn that 78% of all Federal purchases of goods and services in fiscal '69 were for national defense. From p. 587 of the budget message one can also figure out that 97% of all national defense expenditures are for goods and services. Assuming that these two ratios will remain about the same, we can then apply them to the yearly projections for goods and services and deduce how much will be spent on national defense in those six years '70 to '75. The total is $415 billion.

In the first six fiscal years of the 60's before the cost of Vietnam war played havoc with the budget, the total spent on national defense was $300 billion. That was a period of rapid military expansion. Yet it looks as though the first six years of the 70s will be a third, or $100 billion higher.

One can take the five fiscal years '65 to '69 inclusive when we spent about $100 billion on the Vietnam war and compare it with this projection for the five fiscal years '71 to '75 inclusive when (we have been led by Nixon to believe) we should be out of Vietnam. The total spent in '65-'69 was $338 billion. The total projected for '71-'75 is $342 billion. Even allowing for inflation that looks as if most of the "peace dividend" will be absorbed by the Pentagon.

Another way to look at it: The table at p. 80 shows projected spending year by year from '70 to '75 for "new initiatives." These include welfare, pollution and education. These start at $1 billion in fiscal '70 and rise to $15 billion in fiscal '75, a total of $58 billion for six years. But national defense in those same years will absorb $100 billion more than in the first six years of the '60s or $342 billion, roughly as much as we spent during the Vietnam war years! No wonder the Nixon Administration would rather keep these figures secret. But why is there so little protest in Congress over this secrecy? How can it debate the priorities when the military figures are hidden from it?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gas without sufficient warning in excessive quantities and for questionable purposes on two occasions but were otherwise praised. "After the event and contrary to plain fact," the report says, "the Administration sought to portray the weekend as one characterized by violence. Even the spectre of the Russian Revolution was raised to describe what happened here." The man who raised it was Attorney General Mitchell.

Alabama's Integrated Democrats

REP. CONYERS (*D. Mich*) ACCUSES THE PRESS of virtually blacking out the activities of a new political movement in Alabama, the State's integrated National Democratic Party which he says now holds the balance of power in the State and will elect as many as 200 black and liberal white office holders in the next election . . . THE TIMES (LONDON) MARCH 5 PUBLISHED an editorial criticizing Australia for refusing Wilfred Burchett a passport. This courageous and sympathetic reporter, to whom Western journalists owe so much, is again forced to travel as a man without a country, hardly an advertisement for the Free World . . . THE JONES CASE MAY SIGNAL a harsher Supreme Court attitude toward the rights of school and college students. A year ago in *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School,* Mr. Justice Fortas in a 7-to-2 decision upheld the right of schoolchildren to wear black armbands in protest against the Vietnam war. An anti-armband regulation was held to be a violation of their First Amendment rights so long as their protest was peaceful. Black and Harlan dissented. Now in *Jones v. Tennessee* the Court in a per curiam opinion takes a step backward and refuses to adjudicate an appeal from a student indefinitely suspended at Tennessee A. & I. State for a protest leaflet. The Court says that a charge that Jones lied at the hearing against him beclouds the record. Douglas and Brennan dissented, arguing that the leaflet was in no way disruptive and that if the charge was lying he should have had a hearing on that charge. Mr. Justice Black, normally libertarian, took the position, as he did in *Tinker,* that school discipline takes precedence over First Amendment rights. Black's dissent in *Tinker* was emotional and hostile to student protest. Harlan, the conservative, was more moderate. . . .

The Cost Of U.S. Aid

"We could have had the billions of American dollars you see spent in Saigon, the skyscrapers and the traffic jams of Bangkok and the low-cost imported luxuries of Vientiane, if we had wished," said one government official recently. "But we also would have had, like those countries, American planes bombing our countryside, our cities filled with unemployed youths, a communist insurrection all around us, galloping inflation and an enormous trade deficit."

—From Cambodia in the Washington Post, *March 14.*

THE PENTAGON'S APPEAL TO NIXON to postpone plans for a volunteer army did not mention its principal reason—re-enlistments have been dropping sharply. In the years before the Vietnam war, they ran from 22 to 25 percent. In 1968 they had dropped to 20% and in 1969 to 15%. It fears that even with better pay it could not get enough volunteers . . . ON DRUG ABUSES, as in other HEW areas, Nixon's overblown rhetoric contrasts with his niggardly actions. Nixon made the headlines with a statement "there is no priority higher" than drug abuse education in the schools but all he released was $6\frac{1}{2}$ million in frozen HEW funds and he has yet to get behind the Brademas-Meeds bill the House passed last Oct. 31 (over White House opposition) for a $29 million 3-year drug education program. Will Nixon still oppose passage of the bill in the Senate . . . ?

THE LESSON OF THE LAOTIAN WAR is that the U.S. can destroy a country without winning a war. The Plain of Jars was cleared of its people for B-52 bombardment without stopping the enemy. The only result was to bring the number of homeless up to about one-fourth of the Laotian people.

What The Record Reveals About the Origins of The Disorder In The Chicago 7 Trial

The easy way to dispose of the Chicago 7 trial is to blame the Judge and the defendants equally for the disorder. This is what most editors have done. But a study of the contempt citations shows that it was not until the fifth week of the trial that disruptive protest began. This was when Bobby Seale's effort to represent himself—as he had a legal right to do—culminated in his being bound and gagged and then sentenced to four years for contempt, while his case was severed for separate trial.*

Until the transcript is available, the place to study these citations is in the Chicago Tribune which printed a full list Feb. 16. Except for the refusals to rise, all carry the dates, a description and the sentence. The refusals to rise occurred on Oct. 28, 29 and 30 in the fifth week of the trial. Of the 121 contempts for which the remaining seven defendants were cited, only four were dated during the first four weeks. These were minor. The first, on Sept. 26, was against Abbie Hoffman for blowing a kiss to one of the jurors (1 day). The second, on Oct. 1, was against Rennie Davis for being 20 minutes late and presenting a birthday cake to Seale.

Even the usually irrepressible Jerry Rubin was not cited for contempt until Oct. 30 when he protested the gagging of Seale. Tom Hayden's first two counts were on Oct. 29 for "making remarks" and on Oct. 30 for "making speech in defense of Seale." Rennie Davis's second offense did not occur until Nov. 26 and it was for asking the Judge, "Why don't you gag all of us?" Until Dellinger was cited for "shouting support of Bobby Seale" on Oct. 25, his offenses were minor: calling the Judge "Mr." in an argument Oct. 15 (6 months!) and for sarcastic remarks to a witness Oct. 16 (1 month). The first offense of John Froines was laughing at a witness (1 month) on Oct. 28 and Lee Weiner for refusing to rise that same day. Of the 95 dated contempts in the Chicago Tribune, more than half (53) occurred in the last two months of this 5-month trial. If it turned toward the end into guerrilla theatre, the producer was Julius Hoffman.

The defense began on the assumption that it could expose the hollowness of the charges in an open trial. The defendants were veterans of the civil rights movement and were still influenced by the fact that then their only hope lay in the courts. The gifted and thoughtful Tom Hayden dominated the preparations for the trial and they were painstaking. The disorder was not a plot but the result of their frustrating inability day-after-day to get the evidence they had gathered into the record. The trial itself turned defendants and counsel into revolutionaries.**

* A week after Judge Hoffman gave a lawyer a 6-week delay for a Caribbean vacation, he refused Seale's attorney, Charles Garry, a 7-week delay to recover from an operation.

** The outstanding example, of course, was the Judge's refusal to hear former Attorney General Ramsey Clark testify that the Justice Dept. warned Mayor Daley not to provoke trouble by refusing the demonstrators a permit.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(Continued from Page One)

courage them," was his unexpected plea. "If they stop acting up, we'll never get the Establishment to budge."

From a longer range political point of view, the New Left and the hippies and the Yippies may, in however weird a form, also forecast the future. They see Soviet Communism merely as a further stage of capitalism, a mass production bureaucratic society concentrated on the production of goods rather than the liberation of the spirit. They see the working class becoming "middle class" under it, and the need for a newer revolution against making the individual a *thing* in a mindless industrial process rather than the loving center of a universe meant to be joyous in our brief moment of passage through it. To study their irrationality is to become aware of ours.

No Salvation In Holocaust

The immediate lesson is this: If the police authorities are high-handed and arbitrary in their hunt for the bombers—as some already are—they will turn more moderates into activists. The answer to the revolutionaries is to behave with justice, to demonstrate that the system can operate under pressure in accordance with its own best ideals. *And first and above all to end the war.* Again and again, the over-reaction and panic of an established order has turned a handful of conspirators into a revolutionary movement. This is, of course, exactly what the Chicago trial has done in radicalizing youth and destroying its faith in the courts. What happens on appeal may represent the last chance of winning them back to rational discourse and faith in peaceful change. In these, rather than a blind and volcanic upheaval, I see mankind's only chance. For the problems which confront us lie deep in the conditioning of man and in the power of technology to enslave him. No one is yet wise enough to chart the way out, as the most perceptive of the kids themselves admit. They merely hope something better will turn up out of the ruins. But I do not believe in salvation by holocaust. Hate and hysteria certainly will not create a new man or build a better world. Political suicide is not revolution.

But I must confess that I almost feel like throwing rocks through windows myself when I see Judge Julius Hoffman turn up as an honored guest at the White House and when I see Billy Graham like a smoother Rasputin dishing out saccharine religiosity there: If all Americans would only repeat the Lord's Prayer together, he said, "He could lead us out of our dilemma"—and at no increase in taxes either! I sense in Nixon and his entourage no anguish, no awareness, no real comprehension. When has there been a more inane leadership as storm clouds gather? Not since Marie Antoinette has there been a remark to match Moynihan's "benign neglect."

And Lockheed Duns The U.S.!

By letter of March 2, 1970 Lockheed Aircraft informed Deputy Secretary of Defense David Packard that . . . for it to complete delivery of 81 C-5A aircraft during 1971 and 1972 "an additional $435 to $500 million will be required to cover production expenditures." Mr. Packard [who later granted Lockheed's request] admits that C-5A costs have grown astronomically. Not including spares, the Secretary stated in his testimony that 115 C-5As—excluding five research models—were to have cost $1.9 billion. That grew to $3.2 billion for the same 115 planes. Now 81 planes are to cost almost $3.2 billion . . . This plane is built in a Government owned plant. Much of the machinery is owned by the Government. The Government has made progress payments of 90 percent of the "costs incurred," or according to the General Accounting Office's informal report to me, $2.04 billion of $2.27 billion of the costs incurred through March 6, 1970. Yet we have only 11 planes with 26 more in the pipeline.

—Proxmire (D. Wis.) in the Senate Mar. 10.

On the Edge of Black Upheaval

Between the disaffected white youth and the growing anger of the blacks, we could be on the verge of a wild upheaval. I hold my breath as I go to press waiting to see whether Rap Brown is dead or alive. In the black community here in Washington those who knew Ralph Featherstone best, and remember his efforts only two weeks ago to advise the ghetto youth against violence, do not believe he was transporting explosives. They think he was murdered. They see the police and the FBI engaged in an effort to throw the blame upon the dead men themselves. Hoover's name at the bottom of that cryptic FBI report on the bombing is a provocation to the blacks. For them Hoover is an old ally of the Southern racists in Congress. In the black community, too, the established order is recruiting the forces which threaten it. Until the war in Southeast Asia is ended, until the Pentagon is cut down drastically, until priorities are revised to make racial reconciliation and social reconstruction our No. 1 concerns, the dynamite that threatens us sizzles on a fuse that leads straight back to the White House.

We'll Be Glad to Send A Sample Copy of This Issue To A Friend — Send A Stamped Addressed Envelope

FOR STONE'S HIDDEN HISTORY

For the enclosed $7.50 send I. F. Stone's book, **The Hidden History of The Korean War** (Monthly Review Press.)

(To) Name .....

Street .....

City ..... **Zip**..... **State**.....

Indicate if gift announcement wished ☐

Please renew (or enter) a sub for the enclosed $5:

Name .....

Street .....

City ..... **Zip**..... **State**.....

I. F. Stone's Bi-Weekly 3/23/70

4420 29th St. N. W., Washington, D. C. 20008

I. F. Stone's Bi-Weekly

4420 29th St., N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20008

Second class postage paid at Washington, D. C.

I. F. Stone's Bi-Weekly, 2d Class Postage Paid at Washington, D.C. Published every other Monday except in August at 4420 29th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. An independent bi-weekly published and edited by I. F. Stone; Circulation Manager, Esther M. Stone. Subscription: $5 in the U.S.; $6 in Canada; $10 elsewhere. Air Mail rates: $17 to Europe; $20 to Israel, Asia and Africa.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED